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The Common Cause

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All MSS. and letters relating thereto should be addressed to the Editor, The Common Cause, *Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, W. 1. Telephone: Museum 2702.]*

Notes and News.

A Ministry of Health.

There is so much urgent business at present that it seems likely that the discussions on the Ministry of Health proposals may be further delayed. The matter is obviously an urgent one, and one of intense interest to women. The present proposals seem open to a good deal of criticism from practical people, who feel that what we want is a Ministry of Health Bill, and not a mixed Local Government and Health Bill. One thing all women who have thought about the proposals are agreed on, and that is that this is a matter which very much concerns their sex. If the present Bill is to pass, it is exceedingly important that it should include more proposals for the consultation of women than it does at present. Although we are moving so rapidly in the direction of equality, our rulers still seem singularly afraid of placing women in positions in which they may have authority over men.

How to Hear Debates.

It follows naturally from the admission of women to representation in Parliament and to eligibility for membership, that they should be admitted to all the galleries in the House of Commons on the same terms as men. This has accordingly been decided and a good many women have already profited by the permission. More will probably do so when they realise how easy it is to get into the House. We understand that before four o'clock, visitors can be admitted by an order from any member of Parliament, and after that time by an Order from the Admission Office, at the left of St. Stephen's Hall.

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

The National Federation of Women Teachers are carrying on the campaign for equal pay in which they have so gallantly led the way. In spite of the difficulties of the influenza epidemic, great enthusiasm was shown at the Albert Hall on October 26th, when the following resolution, moved by Miss Agnes Dawson was put forward and carried:—"That this meeting denounces the prevailing custom of paying a double standard of wage to men and women for the same type of work, and calls upon the Government to give a lead to the Country by establishing the principle of equal pay for equal work in all the branches of its service." Sir W. H. Dickinson spoke of the new world whose birth we were now witnessing: he said that in every country on the globe there was a stirring of humanity, and that one of the most remarkable signs of it was the change of sentiment with regard to the position of women. Women's work would be more wanted than ever after the war, and it must never again be what it had been in the past—sweated labour. Amongst other speakers who supported the resolution were Miss Nina Boyle, Mr. J. H. Whitehouse, M.P., and Mr. Albert Smith (London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers).

A "Devil's Doctrine."

The following quotation from Josephine Butler, is, we think, a fitting answer for those who assert that such measures as 40D. are necessary for the "protection" of our young soldiers:—"Need I remind you that by such public measures which set their seal upon the devil's doctrine that freedom in licentiousness is needful for men—the moral atmosphere is being poisoned for your brothers and sons, that temptation is thereby made more attractive, that insidious principles, dark as hell, are being instilled into the mind of our youth, and that the holiest mother's influence will scarcely avail to counteract the influence of the tacit promise of Government that safety and health shall accompany the practice of the most cowardly, unmanly and abominable vice? . . . A moral restraint is withdrawn the moment the State recognizes and provides convenience for the practice of a vice which it thereby declares to be necessary and venial."

The Unity of the Moral Law.

Here is another notable quotation from Mrs. Butler which seems specially appropriate at the present time when the "revolutionizing principle," of which she speaks, is so visibly at work:—"Men must learn to live virtuously, that is the only possible remedy for the physical plague; but there are men who do not like to hear this. They will try everything sooner than this. The end, however will be the failure of their every effort to separate the moral and the physical, and the confirmation of this truth, that the only cure for the evils which they so much dread, is purity of life. I believe that a time is coming when it will be apparent that the principle for which we are contending—the unity of the moral law and the equality of all human souls before God—is the most fruitful and powerful revolutionizing principle which the world has ever known, and that we shall achieve a victory in the course of years, and through much tribulation which will make our present efforts seem trivial for the attainment of so great an end.

The Dawn.

The following quotation from Swinburne, which has been sent to us, seems singularly appropriate to this period of rising hopes:—

"Take heed: for the time is risen:
It is full not yet, though now so high
That spirits and hopes long pent in prison
Feel round them a sense of freedom nigh,
And a savour keen and sweet as of brine and billow,
And a murmur deep and strong of deepening strength,
Though the watchman dream. with sloth and pride for pillow,
And the night be long, not endless in its length
From the springs of dawn, from clouds that sever,
From the equal heavens and the eastward sea,
The witness comes that endures forever,
Till men be brethren and thralls be free."

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

THE debate on the question of women in Parliament, which took place on Wednesday, October, 23rd, showed more clearly than anything that has yet happened, the overwhelming converting power of the possession of a Parliamentary vote. It is easy to be cynical about the honourable gentlemen who spoke of their "cataclysmic conversions" with their eyes so anxiously fixed upon their women constituents, and it was indeed impossible to feel that all the members acquitted themselves in that debate with dignity. Some members were so anxious to prove that though they had always been "antis," they had always wanted women in Parliament, and others so eagerly explained the logical impossibility of one without the other. Lord Robert Cecil's thrust, too, went home to many breasts. and many members felt it necessary to explain that their opposition to women's suffrage sprang not from the "distrusting and despising" that he attributed to them, but from an excessive honouring and admiring. Well, those days are past, and that controversy is dead, and we must not be ungrateful nor must we be unjust, for there is more in the rout of the old guard than the fear of a new electorate, and other things than a panic of self interest are to be read into the figures of our overwhelming majority. After all, the granting of the vote to women has actually made a difference in our public thought, and Westminster reflects truly (for once) the tendency of the day. Of the 274 men who voted for the eligibility of women to Parliament, there were many scores who had never shown the least sympathy with the suffrage cause before the coming of the Franchise Bill. These men, voting as they did, at the first time of asking, for a reform that even Suffragists have believed to be far distant, were not doing it because they dared not do otherwise. They voted, we believe, because they have at last begun to catch a glimmering of the meanings of the feminist agitation, and because they feel acting upon their own hearts and brains the compelling force of changed public opinion. They have begun to see what was meant by it all, to understand that it was greater power of service and not only greater power that women wanted, and to realize the desire for co-operation in the affairs of the world that has moved our hearts. This change, and this understanding, which are so marked even in the House of Commons, comes from the same causes which first made and then were strengthened by the great Reform Bill. With the war and all the changes it has brought we have come to see that women *must* play their full part in the nation's vital life and that they are quite capable of doing so. As this fact becomes more and more solidly understood the position of women improves. When at last, we all come to believe it, the feminist agitation will be over. But in spite of the vote of the House of Commons, that day is not yet.

It is interesting to speculate what practical effect the passing of an Eligibility Bill will have. Already enterprising journalists have cast the actors for various parts, and there is a stirring in some of the constituencies. Other suggestions, more than half-serious, are flying from mouth to mouth, and some quite tangible propositions have already been made. But the task of fitting candidates to constituencies is one that is always wrapt in the darkest secrecy, and we can only guess at the upshot. When women candidates are successfully chosen, however, and when they are started upon their contests with the best and most orthodox of party blessings, we still cannot do more than speculate as to what will happen. Will they, any of them, be elected? We do not know. Many reassuring gentlemen remarked, in the debate, that women certainly would not be elected, however eligible Parliament might say that they were. Others thought perhaps one or two would come and that they could safely face that. Others again, seemed glad to think that the future lay beyond their control, and thought comfortably of the seats they would never contest again. We do not know which of these prophets were right. We cannot tell what the future holds, nor guess how quickly eligibility will lead to election, and franchise to Parliament. Speculation is amusing but useless; but this, at any rate is true, that the possession of the vote in itself is working a change in our public thought, and the times are not as they were last year. We may see many more surprises as great as the eleven to one majority of last week, or even see a reaction as marked. We may have to wait years for our women M.Ps. or we may see women in the next Parliament and even in the next Cabinet. It is impossible to tell, but this we do know, that when they come, the women M.Ps. will prove to be a strength and a real security and comfort to the whole country.

Women as Members of Parliament.

Debate in the House of Commons, October 23rd, 1918.

If the debate on Women M.P.'s lacked some of the dramatic character which has distinguished previous debates on kindred subjects, it was probably because the result was, in the minds of those who took part in it, a foregone conclusion. A few years, nay a few months ago, it seemed to us and to many of our supporters in the House that there was a wide gap between the opening of the franchise to women and their eligibility for Parliament. But events have marched rapidly since then, not only in the region of fact, but in the region of political thought, and it was evident from the speeches on October 23rd that those who made them had no doubt of what would be. Some members in the House of Commons had realised that the election of women members was logical; some saw even more clearly that it was practically necessary, and many were obviously influenced by the probable attitude of the new electorate in their own constituencies.

Mr. Herbert Samuel (Cleveland, Yorkshire), in introducing the motion "that in the opinion of this House it is desirable that a Bill be passed forthwith making women eligible as Members of Parliament," said:—

"This Resolution is the natural consequence of the action taken by Parliament earlier this year in enacting the enfranchisement of women. It has now been decided that sex is not to be a bar for citizenship, and it follows from that, I suggest to the House, that sex ought not to be a bar against taking part in Parliamentary life. You cannot say that 6,000,000 women shall be voters, but that not one shall ever be a legislator. By our deliberate action in passing the Representation of the People Bill we have given up the old narrow doctrine that woman's sphere was the home and nothing but the home. We have given up the old theory that woman's interests were not on a level with man's interests, that woman, in fact, was nothing but an adjunct to man, or, as has been well expressed, the doctrine which laid down that woman was not a noun but an adjective. That principle has been frankly surrendered, and I would suggest to hon. Members that the risks which would have to be faced in enacting that women may be elected to Parliament would be far less than those which were deliberately undertaken when we enacted the enfranchisement of women.

For my own part, I have always been in favour of the principle of women's suffrage. I have held the view that the perfect State would include both men and women as its citizens. Life is on a two-sex basis. You cannot only put politics on a one-sex basis. But for many years I had doubts whether the degree of public interest which had been taken by women on the average made it safe at that time to enact a large measure of woman suffrage. The War, however, has brought great changes. It has made women familiar with many aspects of public life. It has drawn the attention of vast numbers of them to questions of industrial employment, of prices, of international politics, and of many matters on which previously they had held aloof. And many of us have been ready during the War to modify our previous view, and to join in the enfranchisement of women. To those, however, who are still doubtful as to the wisdom of the enfranchisement of women and to those who think we have taken, as undoubtedly we have, considerable risks in adding this vast new electorate to citizenship, I submit this argument, that when you deal with enfranchisement you cannot discriminate. You deal with a class in the mass. You have to take into account the capacities of the average person. But when you deal with representation you are not dealing with the average woman. You are dealing with the exceptional woman, and you have to take into account the capacities and character of the woman who will be elected, not the average of the many millions who may be brought in under an Act of Parliament, but the particular qualifications of the individual woman who has such capacities as to command the support of some great party or some body of supporters in a constituency, and, having first been adopted as a candidate, has then won the suffrages of some 10,000 or 15,000 of her fellow countrymen and women. That differentiates the proposal for women's representation from that for women's enfranchisement, and many of those who regard with alarm the sweeping measure passed earlier in the year must realise that this further proposal involves fewer risks and no dangers in comparison with that which has already been adopted."

Mr. Samuel went on to say how important it was to have the help of women on the various committees which did so much of the work of the House, and which will have to do even more in the coming period of reconstruction. He said that in future our politics would be likely to centre more and more round the home. He pointed out that many experiments had already been

made in electing women to Local Government bodies, and that a woman was now occupying the important office of Deputy Chairman of the London County Council. The result of these experiments have been universally acknowledged to be favourable. With regard to the House of Commons, he was rather afraid that too few women candidates would come forward than that there would be too many. In conclusion, he said that it was the right of the people to decide who should represent them, and that it was inadvisable for Parliament to exclude particular parties of persons, or to leave the eligibility of women to be fought out in the Courts of Law :—

"I would submit to the House that anything which renders this body more thoroughly representative of the nation, anything which enables every point of view to be fully and freely expressed here within these walls, strengthens the House of Commons and adds to its utility to the country. Its representative character is its strength. Women undoubtedly have their own distinctive point of view, and their distinctive point of view ought to be expressed in Parliament.

I believe that the presence of a certain number of women within these walls would be of advantage in assisting the work of our Committees. The public at large, misled by descriptions in certain organs of the Press, are under the impression that the real work of the House of Commons consists in a long succession of rhetorical debates, variegated from time to time by disorderly scenes. They do not realise the immense mass of work which is performed week in and week out, year in and year out, in the many Committees that sit upstairs, and it is a weakness of our Select Committees that they cannot be so thoroughly representative as our Departmental Committees which are appointed by Ministers. We are accustomed in these days to the examination of any question of difficulty by a Committee before action is taken. Sometimes it is a Departmental Committee, and sometimes it is a Committee of one or the other House, or a Joint Committee of the two Houses. Whenever a Departmental Committee is appointed to deal with any question touching closely the lives of the people, one or more women are always appointed to it, and most useful Members they are of Departmental Committees; but if a matter is to be referred to a Select Committee, the Select Committee cannot be representative in an equal degree, because women can be given no direct representation. That is why on many occasions—I speak with some experience in these matters—it has been found necessary to appoint not a Select Committee, although it was known that the House of Commons was interested in the matter, but to appoint a Departmental Committee in order that women should be appointed upon it.

Parliament needs the assistance of women, and neither the Courts nor the legislature should decide who are to be chosen as Members of Parliament. The free right of the electorate to be left to its own free will to choose its own representatives is the first essential principle of democracy, that all parties are now, happily, loudly declaring to be the one sound rule for the government of the nation.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (City of London), in opposing the motion, admitted that he had formerly stated that if women had a vote it naturally followed that they should sit in the House of Commons. He had now, however, changed his decision, and thought that such a revolutionary change as the one proposed should be postponed, until the country had had some opportunity of judging how woman suffrage worked, and until there was a new House of Commons.

LORD ROBERT CECIL (Hitchin), in supporting the motion, said that his difficulty was to see what possible argument (except the argument of pure reaction) could be brought against this proposal. He went on to say :—

"To my mind, the great and important thing you have got to look for in the interests of this House is to see that every kind of opinion, as far as may be, shall be represented in the House. I believe that is true very largely of the male population of this country. I think it is true that if you want to find somebody who knows a great deal about any particular subject, that you will find him amongst the Members of this House. I believe there is scarcely any subject as to which you will not find someone who is in the nature of an expert in this House. The one thing you have not got here is the woman's point of view. There are many questions, such as those affecting children, affecting food, affecting pensions and the treatment of soldiers and sailors' families, all of which intimately affect women and the domestic economy of the home. Those are just the kind of subjects on which there are certain women in this country who would speak with greater authority than any man. Those are the kind of women we ought, I think, to allow the voters to choose if they so desire.

Lord Robert then spoke of the great progress in the whole attitude of society towards women :—

"No doubt there were times when some ecclesiastical opinion doubted whether women had souls, and there were certain times when lawyers treated women as mere chattels. They were undoubtedly under the earlier Roman Law very little removed from the condition of slaves. Then came the period in which the attitude that they were lower than animals was abandoned, and it was recognised that they were human beings. But it was thought that they were either incapable or dangerous, and all sorts of restrictions were put on them as to the management of property, and all sorts of provisions were made, sometimes with the best possible intentions by which their activities in earning their own bread were limited. There was also that group of legislation which forbade them to exercise any public functions, even that of a Parliamentary voter. I understand that point of view which rests on distrust of women. I think the House has definitely broken with that point of view, and now I think we should treat them as human beings with absolutely equal rights to men and with no disqualification in consequence of their sex. I should have liked, I confess, to have seen this Resolution go much further and sweep away all the disqualifications which at present prevent women from competing on equal terms with men, even in my own profession, and also in the profession of solicitors, as to which I believe their case is absolutely overwhelming. I should have liked to have seen this Resolution extended to cover all those cases, but at the very least I do urge the House to do away with this absolutely indefensible position that because a woman is a woman she is incapable of exercising the duties of a Member of Parliament and of giving advice to fellow Members on questions in which she is particularly interested.

MR. PETO (Devizes). Mr. Arnold Ward (Watford), and Sir Harry Craik (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities) brought forward some familiar anti-suffragist opinions about the inherent disabilities of women and "the dislike of the great mass of women to be governed by members of their own sex."

MR. ASQUITH (Fife, E.), in supporting the resolution, said that in the days when he had opposed suffrage for women he had never failed to point out that if the vote were once given to women, eligibility to sit in the House could not logically or with policy be refused: one step inevitably involved the other :—

"When once you have declared that a class of persons is worthy and qualified to exercise the franchise, I cannot see any possible reason in logic or in policy why those persons should not be entitled, if they can get constituencies to elect them, to sit in this House."

Mr. Asquith concluded by saying that he had not the faintest fear that the new constituents with their infusion of women electors would show themselves less qualified than constituents had in the past to send to the House of Commons people who were really able to speak on great matters of legislation. He would be glad to see the resolution unanimously carried.

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT (Bridgeton, Glasgow) said that his opposition to women's suffrage had never been based on the opinion that women were inferior to men, but on the ground that they could not bear arms. He thought that on the grounds of intellectual and educational qualifications, practical experience, and national service "women, if and when elected" were "equally entitled with men to sit in Parliament."

Major-General Sir Newton Moore (the new Member for St. George's, Hanover Square) said that he thought the great reform of women's suffrage had been too long postponed, he thought it was very acceptable to the community now. He strongly supported the motion to make women eligible to Parliament, and in doing so was able to deduce evidence from his own experience at the front, as to the work women were doing in the war and from his experiences in Australia of their work in politics.

SIR JOHN D. REES (Nottingham, E.) said that he wanted women in the house, not to represent women's interests, but to help men to represent the interests of all.

MR. ADAMSON (Fife, W.) supported the motion on behalf of the Labour Party, and dwelt on the importance of having women in the House for the discussion of the great industrial problems which would arise after the war, and in which women workers were so intimately concerned. On the question of pensions to the dependants of the fallen men; of the comparative wages of women and men; of housing and of demobilisation, it would be essential to know the women's point of view as well as the men's.

SIR H. MEUX (Portsmouth) opposed the resolution on the grounds that sitting in Parliament would be too great a physical strain for women, and that the Army and the Navy would not like it.

SIR JOSEPH WALTON (Barnsley, Yorks) and Mr. Hazelton (Galway, N.) supported the resolution. The latter said that opinion was so much on one side that it had been plainly not necessary to have the debate at all. When he heard the argument that women ought not to be asked to undertake the strain of long sittings in the House of Commons, he could not help thinking of the hundreds and thousands of women who had to work from morning till night (and sometimes all night) and for whom the House of Commons in the past had not taken sufficient thought.

The questions were then put, and the resolution was passed by 274 votes to 25. We append the list.

AYES.

Acland, Rt. Hon. Francis Dyke
Addison, Rt. Hon. Dr. Christopher
Adkins, Sir W. Ryland D.
Agg-Gardner, Sir James T.
Alden, Percy
Allen, Arthur A. (Dumbartonshire)
Anderson, G. K. (Canterbury)
Anderson, W. C.
Arnold, Sydney
Baring, Sir Godfrey (Barnstaple)
Barlow, Sir Montague (Salford, South)
Barnett, Captain R. W.
Barrie, H. T.
Beach, William F. H.
Beale, Sir William Phipson
Beck, Arthur Cecil
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bellairs, Commander C. W.
Bentham, George Jackson
Bentinck, Lord H. Cavendish-
Bethell, Sir J. H.
Bigland, Alfred
Bird, Alfred
Blake, Sir Francis Douglas
Bliss, Joseph
Boland, John Pius
Booth, Frederick Handel
Boscawen, Col., Sir Arthur S. T. Griffith-

Bowden, Major G. R. Harland
Boyle, Daniel (Mayo, North)
Boyton, Sir James
Brace, Rt. Hon. William
Brady, Patrick Joseph
Bridgeman, William Clive
Brookes, Warwick
Brunner, J. F. L.
Bryce, J. Annan
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Buxton, Noel
Byrne, Alfred
Carnegie, Lieut.-Col., the Hon. Douglas G.
Cator, John
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cave, Rt. Hon. Sir George
Cecil, Rt. Hon. Lord R. (Herts, Hitchin)
Chancellor, Henry George
Cheyne, Sir W. W.
Clancy, John Joseph
Coats, Sir Stewart A. (Wimbledon)
Collins, Godfrey P. (Greenock)
Collins, Sir Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir W. (Derby)
Colvin, Colonel
Cooper, Sir Richard Ashmole
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Sir Clifford John (St. Ives)
Cotton, H. E. A.
Cowan, Sir W. H.
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craig, Colonel Sir J. (Down, E.)
Craig, Norman (Kent, Thanet)
Crooks, Rt. Hon. William
Crumley, Patrick
Currie, George W.
Dalziel, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H. (Kirkcaldy)
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Lincs., Louth)
Davies, Sir W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan)
Denman, Hon. Richard Douglas
Dillon, John
Doris, William
Dougherty, Rt. Hon. Sir James B.
Duffy, William J.
Edwards, Clement (Glamorgan, E.)
Elverston, Sir Harold
Esmonde, Capt. John (Tipperary, N.)
Essex, Sir Richard Walter
Fell, Sir Arthur
Ffrench, Peter
Finney, Samuel
Fisher, Rt. Hon. H. A. L. (Hallam)
Fisher, Rt. Hon. W. Hayes (Fulham)
Fitzgibbon, John
Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue
Flavin, M. J.
Fleming, Sir John
Foxcroft, Capt. Charles Talbot
Ganzoni, Francis John C.
Gardner, Ernest
Gastrell, Lieut.-Col. Sir W. Houghton
Gilbert, J. D.
Glanville, Harold James
Goulding, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Alfred
Greene, Walter Raymond
Greig, Colonel J. W.
Griffith, Rt. Hon. Sir Ellis J.
Gulland, Rt. Hon. John William
Hackett, John
Hall, D. B. (Isle of Wight)
Hamilton, C. G. C. (Ches., Altrincham)
Harmood-Banner, Sir J. S.
Harris, Sir Henry P. (Paddington, S.)
Harris, Percy A. (Leicester, S.)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Havelock-Allan, Sir Henry
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Healy, Timothy Michael (Cork, N.E.)
Helme, Sir Norval Watson
Henderson, Rt. Hon. Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Denis S. (Londonderry, S.)
Hewart, Rt. Hon. Sir Gordon
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, John Waller
Hinds, John
Jacobsen, Thomas Owen
Jessel, Col. Sir Herbert M.
John, Edward Thomas
Hoare, Sir Samuel John Gurney
Holmes, Daniel Turner
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, Major J. A. (Midlothian)
Hope, John Deans (Haddington)
Horne, Edgar
Hudson, Walter
Hughes, Spencer Leigh
Hume-Williams, Sir W. E.
Jackson, Lieut.-Col. Hon. F. S. (York)
Jones, Sir Edgar R. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Jones, Henry Haydn (Merioneth)
Jones, J. Towyn (Carmarthen, East)
Jones, Rt. Hon. Leif (Notts., Rushcliffe)
Jones, W. Kennedy (Hornsey)
Jones, William S. Glyn- (Stepney)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Keating, Matthew
Kellaway, Frederick George
Kenyon, Barnet
King, Joseph
Kinloch-Cooke, Sir Clement
Lambert, Rt. Hon. G. (Devon, S. Molton)
Lane-Fox, Major G. R.
Law, Rt. Hon. A. Bonar (Bootle)
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, West)
Lloyd, George Butler (Shrewsbury)
Locker-Lampson, G. (Salisbury)
Lowe, Sir F. W. (Birm., Edgbaston)
M'Callum, Sir John M.
Macdonald, Rt. Hon. J. M. (Falk. B'ghs)
Macdonald, J. Ramsay (Leicester)
M'Ghee, Richard
Maclean, Rt. Hon. Sir Donald
McMicking, Major Gilbert
Macnamara, Rt. Hon. Dr. T. J.
McNeill, Ronald (Kent St. Augustine's)
MacVaugh, Jeremiah
Maden, Sir John Henry
Magnus, Sir Philip
Malcolm, Ian
Marshall, Arthur Harold
Mason, David M. (Coventry)
Mason, Robert (Wansbeck)
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Middlebrook, Sir William
Molloy, Michael
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred
Montagu, Rt. Hon. E. S.
Moore, Major-General Sir J. N.
Morison, Thomas B (Inverness)
Muldoon, John
Munro, Rt. Hon. Robert
Newman, Major J. R. P. (Enfield)
Newman, Sir Robert (Exeter)
Nicholson, Sir Charles N. (Doncaster)
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Rt. Hon. Major Sir H.
Nugent, J. D. (College Green)
Nuttall, Harry
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, Thomas
O'Dowd, John
O'Shee, James John
Outhwaite, R. L.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Parrott, Sir James Edward
Pearce, Sir William (Limehouse)
Peel, Major Hon. G. (Spalding)
Pennefather, de Fonblanque
Perkins, Walter Frank
Philipps, Maj.-Gen., Sir Ivot (S'ton)
Philipps, Sir Owen (Chester)
Pollard, Sir George H.
Pollock, Sir Ernest Murray
Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H.
Pratt, J. W.
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Prothero, Rt. Hon. Rowland Edmund
Raffan, Peter Wilson
Raphael, Sir Herbert H.
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarborough)
Rees, G. C. (Carnarvonshire, Arion)
Rees, Sir J. D. (Nottingham, E.)
Remnant, Col. Sir James Farquarson
— Rendall, Athelstan
Richardson, Albion (Peckham)
Richardson, Arthur (Rotherham)
Richardson, Thomas (Whitehaven)
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, Sir J. H. (Denbighs)
Roberts, Sir S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Robinson, Sidney
Roch, Walter F. (Pembroke)
Rowlands, James
Rowntree, Arnold
Royds, Edmund
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter (Dewsbury)
Samuel, Rt. Hon. H. L. (Cleveland)
Sanders, Col. Robert Arthur
Scanlan, Thomas
Scott, A. MacCallum (Glas., Bridgeton)
Sheean, Daniel Daniel
Sheey, David
Shortt, Edward
Smallwood, Edward
Smith, Harold (Warrington)
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Somervell, William Henry
Spicer, Rt. Hon. Sir Albert
Stanton, Charles Butt
Stewart, Gershon
Strauss, Arthur (Paddington, N.)
Strauss, Edward A. (Southwark, West)
Sutton, John E.
Swift, Rigby
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Rt. Hon. Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. G. (Monmouth, S.)
Thomas-Stanford, Charles
Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton)
Tickler, T. G.
Tootill, Robert
Toulmin, Sir George
Walton, Sir Joseph
Watson, Hon. W.
Watson, J. B. (Stockton)
Weigall, Lieut.-Col. W. E. G. A.
Wheler, Major Granville C. H.
White, Colonel G. D. (Lancs., Southport)
White, J. Dundas (Glasgow, Tradeston)
Whitehouse, John Howard
Whiteley, Sir H. J.
Whittaker, Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas P.
Whitty, Patrick, Joseph
Wiles, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, Aneurin (Durham, N.W.)
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarthen)
Williamson, Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald
Willoughby, Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Claud
Wilson, Rt. Hon. J. W. (Wors., N.)
Wing, Thomas Edward W.
Wood, Sir John (Staleybridge)
Wood, Rt. Hon. T. Mackinnon (Glasgow)
Worthington-Edwards, Major Sir L.
Yeo, Sir Alfred William

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir W. Dickinson and Mr. Adamson

NOES.

Agnew, Sir George William
Anstruther-Gray, Lieut.-Colonel William
Archdale, Lieut. E. M.
Courthope, Major George Lloyd
Craik, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Hon. H. H.
Du Pre, Major W. Baring
Foster, Philip Staveley
Gibbs, Col. George Abraham
Gretton, John
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord C. K. (K'ton)
Hunter, Major Sir Charles Rodk.
Jardine, Ernest (Somerset, East)
Layland-Barratt, Sir F.
Meux, Adml. Hon. Sir Hedworth
Mount, William Arthur
Nicholson, William G. (Petersfield)
Samuels, Arthur W.
Seely, Lt.Col., Sir C. H. (Mansfield)
Stanier, Captain Sir Beville
Terrell, Henry (Gloucester)
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent)
Williams, Col., Sir Robert (Dorset, W.)
Wright, Henry Fitzherbert
Yate, Col. C. E.

Tellers for the Noes:—Sir F. Banbury and Mr. Peto.

Regulation 40 D D.O.R.A.

"This regulation has all the vital defects and injustices of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and I hope women will show that they are not going to allow the great work of Josephine Butler's life to be undone."* This message from Mrs. Fawcett, in connection with the great meeting of protest that is to be held at the Queen's Hall on November 6th, sums up the case against Regulation 40 D. It is a call to all who value freedom and justice to throw in their weight against a return to the policy of the C.D. Acts.

Previous to the first of those Acts, a short Act came into being, in 1864, and for a period of three years only, by which it was provided that a prostitute whom a Police Superintendent, or a Medical Practitioner "duly registered as such," had "good cause to believe" was diseased should undergo compulsory medical examination. If the woman were found to be diseased the magistrate could make an order for her detention for treatment for a period not exceeding three months. Before the three-years' life of this law had come to an end the C.D. Acts proper had come into force.

This temporary law, made over half a century ago as a prelude to more lasting legislation, affords an instructive parallel to what is happening to-day. To-day, instead of a Parliamentary law it is an Administrative measure that is introduced as the thin edge of the wedge of such legislation as that proposed in the Criminal Law Admendment, and in the Sexual Offences Bills. Whether the parallel shall continue to hold it is for the women of the country to say. And they are saying. Hardly a day passes without some indication reaching the Governmental authorities of the abhorrence with which women view their position under Regulation 40 D—a position which, however dimly realised at first, has now, in the course of seven months' experience, become clear as daylight.

Leaving aside for the moment the moral aspect of the case, there are three main lines of objection to this Regulation.

* See Common Cause, October 25th.

Firstly, from the point of view of constitutional law, there is the objection that the onus of proof is made to rest on the accused. The woman is in effect offered the means to establish her own innocence; if she will not avail herself of this means, the presumption is against her. There could scarcely be a more revolutionary change in the procedure of British Constitutional law.

Secondly, the medical examination is to all intents and purposes compulsory. True, "consent" is nominally required. But it has not to be given in writing. The Home Secretary, on July 30th, expressly repudiated the idea that any such safeguard was necessary or desirable. Moreover, when the woman refuses her consent, as sometimes happens, it is a not uncommon, although illegal, practice to remand her again and again until she produces a medical certificate. Nor is any explanation offered her beforehand as to the point at which her consent will become necessary during the process of a prison examination. For instance, when a prisoner is on remand she undergoes, as part of the ordinary compulsory routine of the prison, an examination of heart and lungs. For this purpose she is ordered to strip and go before the doctor. Up to that point she has no option. Then, if it be considered desirable to examine her for the presence of Venereal Disease she is, while surrounded with an atmosphere of compulsion, taken into another room and briefly asked to consent to an examination the nature of which she often does not know. And in that way the likelihood of her refusing is reduced to a minimum. In this connection it may be noted that, in the words of one who holds first-hand evidence "the victims of this species of sharp practice are not by any means confined to those charged under Regulation 40 D. At least one London magistrate is known to make a practice of 'remanding for medical certificate' any woman accused of soliciting soldiers. There is no reason to suppose that the withdrawal of 40 D. would result in a cessation of this practice; it might even lead to its increase. To clear the issue, therefore, we would demand that no medical examination of this sort be made in connection with any criminal charge whatsoever, and that the practice be utterly abolished in our prisons." This point is one that must not be left out of account in pressing for the withdrawal of 40 D.

Thirdly, it is fully established that medical examination is worthless in determining the presence or absence of Venereal Disease in a communicable form. An article published in the *Lancet* on August 17th, 1918, deals with this aspect of the case in a way in which it cannot be dealt with here, pointing out also the practical impossibility of determining which party infected the other. The gist of the matter from the medical standpoint is contained in the words: "It may without unfairness be concluded that a searching bacteriological examination . . . may fail to establish evidence of infection in cases where clinically it was almost certainly present." And the article ends by declaring the measure "condemned by its own futility."

So much for the legal and medical objections to the Regulation. The moral aspect of the matter is one on which the judgment of thinking women will be instant and unanimous. The implied recognition of a double standard of morality for men and women; the degrading nature of the examination when compulsorily performed, (some competent observers are of opinion that even the much less serious character of the examination as it applies to men is distinctly detrimental to their self-respect); the power it puts into the hands of the police, and, indeed, into any man's hands; the menace it involves to the safety of girls in the streets; the added opportunities for blackmail; the effect of such work on the doctors concerned; the offender's frequent ignorance of her condition and the consequent absence of any "deterrent effect" in the measure as it applies to the only class likely to be "deterred"; the false impression conveyed to soldiers that vice can be made "safe"; all these points and more need no emphasising.

But what is needed is that we should get behind these facts to the state of the moral atmosphere which produces vice, on the one hand, and unjust and futile legislation on the other. The social evil with which women have now, in co-operation with men, to deal is not more serious than of old. Statistics even suggest that it is distinctly less so. But light is being thrown on it, and the public conscience is sensitive to it as never before. The volume of outcry against this Regulation, in which the voices of men are daily more prominent, is a most hopeful sign. It shows that injustice is being felt more intolerable than ever. But there is more in the air than mere negation of wrong. Our outlook is changing. We are beginning to distrust penal legislation as a substitute for spiritual well-being. Our understandings are enlarging. We see now that the *minds* of men and women need each other. Many a homeless Overseas man is driven to seek the company of women with whom sex is a trade for the sole reason that he is denied the normal companionship of other women. We see now that that is what we must try to provide. The free and friendly working together of men and women, the recognition that the call of sex is not merely nor even mainly a bodily one, and the practical carrying out of this conviction at the present time by women themselves conveying to men, as women can, a sense that their friendship can be free and disinterested,—these things are "constructive" in a way that no legislation can ever be.

Regulation 40 D., and all such legislation, must go. But the darkness does not go until the light comes. And light is a condition of the spirits of men and women.

R. DYCE SHARP.

Women and the Public Purse.

A recent letter from Lady Selborne in THE COMMON CAUSE contained some well-timed remarks on the need for caution on the part of those who sketch far-reaching reforms, which postulate lavish expenditure. It would not be very surprising if women were betrayed into extravagance in this direction. For so long their architectural efforts were limited to the construction of castles in the air, and considerations of £ s. d. have little to do with the planning of these edifices. Now at last they have won the power to control to some extent the building of the street of to-morrow, and perhaps are drafting the ground-plan on too expensive a scale in some directions. But economy consists not in the refusal to spend money but in the care with which the manner of expenditure is chosen. The wisdom of economy in Child Welfare schemes, in primary education, in provision of houses for the working class, is very questionable. Expenditure in Ireland in 1916 on dental clinics was £548; on medical inspection of schools, nil; on schools for the mentally deficient, nil. In Belfast, with the same population as Edinburgh only with a far greater proportion in industrial occupations, the Child Welfare expenditure for 1918 is exactly one-sixth of that in the Scottish capital.

The absence of medical inspection was given by a leading Dublin doctor recently as one reason why in the Dublin recruiting area, of 27,000 men offering themselves, 18,000 were rejected for physical unfitness, while recently of over 2,000 cases examined in a certain district, 51 per cent. were suffering from dental trouble. The Carnegie Report on the Physical Welfare of Mothers and Children in Ireland attributes the high death-rate of school children to the want of medical inspection, and notes that in England the annual death-rate during school years is decreasing, while in Ireland the contrary is the case. In 1914 the Medical Officer of Health for Belfast emphasised the same fact. When it is remembered that the mortality rate is only an index to the sickness rate, the heavy expenditure incurred for hospitals will cease to rouse astonishment. The last Bill for the Housing of the Working Classes does not extend to Ireland, though a consideration of infant death-rates in districts in the Dublin area—where the percentage for the city in one week of October was 23.4 against 13.3 in a residential suburb—might well suggest such an extension, even if considerable expenditure were involved.

The absence of schools for the mentally deficient has an effect on the high illiteracy rate,—3 per cent in Belfast, 6.8 in Leinster; and the same fact tends to maintain the Poor Rate at the present figure, since the mentally deficient, who have received no special training, drift in and out of the workhouse and relief workroom, a burden on the State or on private charity for the greater part of their lives.

Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.

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Mr. E. B. TURNER F.R.C.S. — Mrs. BRAMWELL BOOTH

Monsignor PROVOST BROWN — and others

Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT

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SALONIKA, 11th October, 1918.

"Have just returned from visiting re-occupied regions. There is much distress among population. Whole villages destroyed. Thousands without homes, clothes, or food, and in the greatest misery. Need for help is urgent. I am opening immediately soup kitchens and dispensaries in Ghevgheli, Doran, and Kavadar, and hope to open others elsewhere. Principal hospital will be moved shortly to either Uskub or neighbourhood of Nish. We shall have great need of funds for development of work in new regions. In addition to money, warm clothes and boots in unlimited numbers are urgently needed. Please make immediate fresh appeals to generosity of public."—

FRANK CLEMOW.

Dr. Clemow, who sends this cable, is in charge of the Serbian Relief Fund's advanced units in Serbia.

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In 1916, the cost of Irish primary education per pupil was £3 10s. In Manchester, the total (estimated by adding cost of local rate per pupil and amount of Treasury grant per pupil in England and Wales) was £5 17s. 7d. It is interesting to note that Manchester has everything for which the Women's Political League asks in its present programme. Possibly Manchester has found this expenditure to be the truer economy.

In connection with the question of medical inspection there has been an interesting development. It now appears that the Local Government Board for Ireland has been entrusted by the Treasury with the administration of a grant to defray the expenses of such inspection, if one-half of the said cost is met from voluntary sources. Local bodies have not the power to use the rates for this purpose.

Now it is obvious that such a scheme cannot be worked satisfactorily. The problem is too large, and the need for a comprehensive scheme is too great for any voluntary agency to cope with. The whole amount should be raised from the rates as in England. A Treasury grant in aid would be a well-timed piece of justice, as for years the unexpended balance of Treasury grants has been returned, though why there should be such an unexpended balance,—in 1916 amounting to over £1,000, or twice the sum spent on dental clinics,—it is hard to tell. But the new Treasury grant for medical inspection must be supplemented, not by voluntary agencies, but by a grant from the rates. For this purpose legislation is required, and the educationalist may once more be thankful that this is 1918, and that the Bill for the Representation of the People is now law. Were the matter left to the local authority, little could be done, and without the Parliamentary vote, women could not work for the necessary legislative reform. It is an interesting example of the truth of the suffrage contention that the Local Government vote, though most valuable, was heavily handicapped by the refusal of the Parliamentary franchise.

Dora Mellone.

Judy.

There are still some Punch and Judy shows to be seen in our streets, though now no Toby dogs. If there is a dog it is all too often a sort of Fox Terrier—or just a "dog." Even when it wears a frill it is not like the prosperous upper-class Toby who used to be—who, indeed, from immemorial time, gazes at busy humans from the covers of the printed "Punch." But one thing you may be sure of in a present-day Punch and Judy Show, as of yore, that much of the fun will lie in Judy doing something Punch does not like, and being beaten on the head with a stick, and rising up from the dead and doing it again.

The volumes of *Punch* published when her late Majesty Queen Victoria was in her prime have something in common with the street show, for in them Judy is set forth as taking a line of her own and with a like result, that her lord Punch beats her on the head—not physically with a wooden club but with the weapon of his contempt and ridicule. Punch—despite his hump, a hump big enough to make any woman feel him to be merely an erring fellow-mortal—was, in his own opinion, in the opinion of his sex, and therefore of all polite persons, the norm, the perfect pattern of what nature intended when she invented human beings. He being the perfect pattern, she, if she did not reflect his opinions became a freak, a failure, a blot upon our fair earth.

Let us turn over together a few pages of the old books, and see ourselves as the immortal male norm saw us. It will cheer us up. Of course it is nice of our fellow countrymen to approve of us as they do at the moment, but it is dull: as the soldier sometimes sings, "Nobody knows how bored we are, bored we are, bored we are, And *no-body* seems to care."

Fashions repeat themselves, so we can quite well be topical, and begin with Food. In Volume 25 (1853), Mr. Punch, condescending to impersonate a female, makes merry about her preoccupation with the subject of Food, and the increasing cost of housekeeping, and the lure of the strike for more housekeeping money:—

"At the present moment, when everything is rising, it behoves the wives of Engand to be up and doing too. There are thousands, perhaps millions of my poor sisters this minute, married to husbands in the human form who, with a meanness which ought to make them ashamed of themselves, allow so much and *no more* for the expenses of the house. No matter what are the markets—the weekly allowance is the same. Bread may rise—butter may go up—legs of mutton may advance, and still no rise at home! Therefore it is desired that all wives suffering in silence under the yoke of the tyrant, will take their remedy in their own hands and strike. . . .

(Signed) "Mrs. Mary Ann Hen."

In this extract "woman in the home" is found to be at fault, in the next she is discovered fleeing the home with its advancing legs of mutton—realising her own imperfections—devising schemes of self-elevation. But being handicapped by nature with the intellect of a hen, she is blind to the obvious; if she were really to attain elevation, bang would go his—relatively speaking—and it is relativity that counts. No; it is not thus she may hope to win her lord's smile.

(Vol. 25, 1853.) "*The Woman's Elevation League.*

"The last new league is calculated to carry us many miles in advance of everything we have yet approached, for it is no other than a Woman's Elevation League. Every league of this description contains several acres—commonly called Wiseacres—and though no names are given in this prospectus we daresay we should meet with several old familiar faces if we could fall in with the Committee, and that we should recognise among the members not a few of these professed friends of progress who are always making a hash of something or other, and eventually falling out among themselves in the name of 'universal harmony.' . . . We have been in the habit of thinking that women are very well as they are, but the 'League' is desirous of making her a doctor, a trader, an artist, a politician, and a minister. The League thinks she does not 'embrace' half enough; but we are modestly of opinion that a woman's embraces should be confined to her own family circle as closely as possible."

Passing over a few years when apparently the ladies, conscious of their weakness, became again real ladies and had no history, we come to 1859. In Volume 36, the worm again wriggles on its pin most ungracefully. The extract derives an old-world touch from the archaism "Servia"; but it is not wholly archaic, for even to-day we sometimes suffer hallucinations when even an "all highest" seems but a "very small German."

"Letter from Thalestris Hardlines to Mr. Punch.

"Sir,—In the interview which Prince Alexander the Ex-Hospodar of Servia, had with the deputation from the Servian Parliament (whose name looked so ridiculously like Soup-Kitchen) touching his abdication, it seems that the Hospodaresse had a good deal more to say on the question than the *ladies* of Princes, Premiers, or Presidents are *allowed* by an *old-fashioned* if not *effete civilisation* of the *West*.

"The *Augsburg Gazette* informs us that the Princess violently reproached her husband for his *weakness*, declaring that, *if she were in his place she* would rather be cut to *pieces* than 'capitulate.'

"The Correspondent of the *Gazette*—a man, of *course*, goes on: 'After the Princess had *raved* for some time, her husband *lost patience*, and *taking her by the shoulders*, thrust her into an adjoining room. Hardly however, had the interrupted conversation been renewed by the spokesman of the deputation, when the lady reappeared, and discharged a volley of invectives at the representatives of the nation. Hospodar again conducted his wife to the door and *dismissed her with a few sound cuffs*.'

"Hoping that I have now set the heroic conduct of the Princess of Servia in its proper light, instead of the odious and ridiculous view in which it has been placed by that very small German, the Belgrave Correspondent of the *Augsburg Gazette*, I beg to subscribe myself, Mr. Punch, Your faithful, but not obedient

"THALESTRIS HARDLINES."

(Authoress of "The Cry of the Women, a Plaint in Twenty-seven Cantos.")

The same volume gives us a passage for which I must apologise to the friendly compositors who, week by week, in the face of increasing difficulties, set up THE COMMON CAUSE. But it does so delightfully recall the once-upon-a-time of Miss Gladys Pott, and how she used to tell there were no such things as "Ilanienable Rights."

"Letter to *Mr. Punch* from Miss Xantippe. Quotation Mr. Roebuck:—

'If you talk of the unalienable right to electoral power, it must be for the women as well as for the men.' There now *Mr. Punch*! What do you say to that, Sir? *That*. This is what a *statesman* you observe, Sir, says for us—the Inanieliable (what a horribly hard word, and how difficult to spell). The Ilanienable right to electoral power *must* be—do you hear, Sir—'*must* be for women as well as for men!' That *dear* Mr. Roebuck, what a *duck* the man must be."

There really is a remarkable lack of originality about history, for, sure enough, our next extract is all about Lord Derby and a lady who coincided with his views, but did not like Grey and Russell.

(Vol. 36, 1859.) "Mrs. Greymare moved the following resolution:—'That this meeting having proved that woman has a right to vote, hereby pledges its unanimous support to any Government which will extend to her the use of what is logically hers'

"Mrs. Prettywoman seconded the resolution, observing that she personally did not dislike Lord Derby—indeed in certain of his views she completely coincided. He was fond of going to races—and so she owned was she—(Oh, fie!); to Mr. Disraeli she had not much objection, except that she must say she thought him far from handsome (Oh! Oh!) As to the other people she did not much like Mr. Bright, because he dressed *so* queerly and he talked *so* loud; and she could not place much confidence in Lord John Russell either. He really looked *so* small and was getting—Oh! so Grey. (Order). If she must make her choice she thought she would rather give Lord Palmerston her countenance (Oh! Oh! and whispers of 'Does she mean to kiss him!') because she had always thought him such a 'love' of a man (Sensation, and vociferous cries of Order, Order!). She (Mrs. Prettywoman) was *not* out of order, she was only making use of a popular expression."

Last of all, nearly sixty years ago (Vol. 39, 1860), seven

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years before Miss Emily Davies handed in the first suffrage petition, ten years before Mrs. Fawcett's first suffrage speech in the Dome at Brighton, comes a report, with hardly a tiny scintillation of wit about it, of a meeting called to consider, in face of the "rising income tax," "the possibility of successfully employing young ladies in situations which had hitherto been monopolised by young men." There are doubtless few scintillations, because coming events are already beginning to cast their shadow: for though the voices are the voices of gentlemen, the thoughts expressed are the thoughts of women, such as Miss Emily Faithfull and Miss Boucherett.

"Work for Women. . . . Thanks to the prevalent taste for profusion of finery, coming with a rising income tax, girls are getting too dear, that is to say too expensive creatures to find husbands.

"Under these circumstances there has been formed a Society for the Employment of Women. It met the other evening at 19, Langham Place, the Earl of Shaftesbury in the chair. . . . Mr. Cookson urged law engrossing . . . This is a very good notion; young ladies are generally fond of writing. Employed in lawyer's offices, they will turn to profitable account a propensity which now merely wastes ink and paper. . . . Mr. Hastings spoke of printing as peculiarly well-adapted for women, and read a paper contributed by Miss Emily Faithfull on the introduction of women into the printing trade. . . Milliners are accustomed to the making up of caps and bonnets. . . . they might confuse both small caps and large caps in books if not in book muslin. . . . Mr. Mackenzie read a paper by Miss J. Boucherett. . . ."

All this fooling has a moral. It shall be pointed. The pioneers who won for us our secure, if dull, political Paradise of to-day, thought their own thoughts and did their own deeds, though the whole of their world frowned one big frown on the face of *Mr. Punch*. If we are willing not only to take the torch from them *but to pass it on*, we may see *Mr. Punch* frowning hard again, perhaps in 1921 or before. But *think* how much our descendants of 1969 will enjoy themselves turning over the old brown pages of 1921 if *they* are feeling dull on that sleepy afternoon when the cycle of popular approval has come round again.

A. Helen Ward.

Correspondence.

[Letters written on both sides of the paper can in no case be published.—Ed.]

THE PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

Madam,—I read Mrs. Walford Common's letter in your issue of October 25th with very great interest; but it strikes me that her remedy is worse than the disease—if I may be allowed to call the present programme of the National Union by that name. Surely, if we undertake to educate the women citizens we shall be attempting to teach them about a list of social reforms as long as our two arms. And, important as this educational work is, it is in the nature of things of such a vague character, and entails the taking of so little action, that in my opinion, (after a few years' time it is more likely to die of inanition than one which exists to press for certain reforms. As to the questions taken up by the N.U.W.S.S. being too controversial and obscure to be successfully worked up by the societies, I think exactly the same thing would apply (but to an even greater extent) in the case of Women Citizen's work; the Union has at least a great advantage owing to the fact that it takes a perfectly definite standpoint, and works for the equality of men and women. It is true, of course, that we cannot all be experts on every question; but in the opinion of many of us, right principles are quite as important as expert knowledge; and if research work—or something like it—is necessary on the one hand and the organisation of a sound public opinion and right principles is necessary on the other, surely this only goes to show that the communication between Headquarters and Societies is still essential for the "instruction, guidance, and co-ordination of the Societies in their united aims."

Margaret Jones.

OFFICERS' SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

Madam,—I wonder if your readers are aware of the fact that an officer's wife and children have no legal right to any of his pay while he is abroad? Even the children's separation allowance is paid to the father, and he can keep it for extra pocket money for himself if he likes! They tell me at the War Office that there are hundreds of men who keep every penny of their pay, *and every penny of their children's allowance too*; leaving wife and children to starve. Can nothing be done to right this almost incredible injustice?

Gwladys Gladstone Solomon.

RURAL HOUSING.

Madam,—I do not see why, with the present wages of agricultural labourers, there should be any difficulty in providing good healthy houses at a rent they can afford. And there is no doubt that many dangers and difficulties will be avoided, if we can keep out of the tangle of a State subsidy. But if public money is given in aid of better housing, surely it ought not to be given in the form of building a few superfine cottages, which will be let to favoured individuals. One way of subsidising building would be to excuse all new cottages let below a certain rent from rates, the sum lost to the local authority being made up by a grant from the Exchequer. This would be a perfectly fair way and I believe would lead to a considerable increase in cottage building. One of the things which has done most to scare the small investor from putting his money

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into houses, has been the rapid rise in the rates, owing to the various social reforms which have been put into operation in recent years.

Writers on this subject often assume that country people are housed in cottages built by rich landowners. In the South of England this is only true of a portion of the population, certainly not half.

The good landowner builds cottages for the permanent labourers on his estate and farms, if he is a rich man. If he is a poor one he probably contents himself with building cottages for the carters and cowmen, and for his own servants. The best of the cottages in the village are built and owned by small men, the village mason and carpenter generally have a few; it used to be a favourite form of investment for any labourer who had saved or inherited a little money. It was the falling off in this class of builder that even before the war had produced the scarcity of houses. It seems to me that it should be the object of the statesmen, if possible, to put the supply of houses on a firm business footing, so that it will continue without spasmodic assistance. After the war it may be necessary to employ public capital to make up for the years in which nothing has been done, but great care should be exercised that this public money does not choke the private enterprise which must be the chief source of supply. If it is simply used in building, and a fair interest charged, or lent to public utility companies on the same terms, it will do no harm. If it produces houses at rents far below their market value, it will disorganise the building trade, frighten off the small private investor, and in the end reduce rather than augment the available houses for the people.

MAUD SELBORNE.

Reports, Notices, etc.

"The Common Cause" £2,000 Fund.

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Already acknowledged	468	11	8
Miss Brown		2	6
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MISS OLIVE WORKMAN.

Those readers of THE COMMON CAUSE who contributed to the Common Cause Scholarship will be glad to hear that Miss Olive Workman has been awarded a Chemical Research Scholarship (£60), at the Imperial College, in order that she may continue her work.

The International Suffrage Shop (8, Duke Street, Adelphi) has just issued the first number of a monthly catalogue of literature. The annual subscription for the catalogue is 6s. A specimen copy will be sent on receipt of 7d.

N.U.W.S.S. Societies.

HUDDERSFIELD (West Riding Federation).—A meeting was held on Monday, October 14th, in the Mayor's Reception Rooms. Mrs. Doherty presided, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher gave an address on "Women and Reconstruction." An appeal for subscriptions and donations to the Headquarter's Fund realised the excellent amount of £7 1s. 0d.

CARLISLE.—At a business meeting for members held on Aug. 14th it was resolved that for the present the local suffrage society should continue, and that we should apply for an organiser to come and start a Women Citizens' Association. The Carlisle branch of the N.U.W.W. were also desirous of having a Women Citizens' Association, so they lent their support to the scheme, and shared in the benefit of our organiser. Miss Foggo came to Carlisle on Oct. 1st, and worked for a fortnight. A provisional committee was formed with Mrs. Crompton and Miss Gem as joint hon. secretaries pro tem. During the fortnight Miss Foggo addressed the committees of the Carlisle branch of the N.U.W.W.E., the N.U.W.S.S., the Railway Women's Guild, the Co-Operative Women's Guild, three different meetings of the British Women's Temperance Association, the women's section of the Trades Council and Labour Party, and the Women's Liberal Association.

On Tuesday evening, Oct. 15th, a conference was held in the Town Hall with Mrs. Chance in the chair. This was a great success, the hall being filled to overflowing. A resolution "that this conference realises the need of forming a Carlisle Women Citizens' Association, and resolves to work towards this end" was carried nem. con.

Our best thanks are due to Mrs. Crampton and Miss Foggo for all their hard work which made the meeting at the Town Hall such a success.

FALKIRK.—Saturday, Sept. 28th, was a red-letter day for the Falkirk Society. On that afternoon, in commemoration of the enfranchisement of women under the Representation of the People Act, 1918, a tree was planted in front of the Town Hall and Burgh Buildings by the kind consent of the Town Council, and with their cordial co-operation. The chair was taken by Provost Bogle, who, after calling on Rev. J. Spence to offer prayer, introduced Mrs. Simson (sister of the late Dr. Elsie Inglis). After a short speech, in which she touchingly referred to the life-long zeal and devotion with which Dr. Inglis had worked for the Women's Movement, Mrs. Simson proceeded to plant the copper beech which is to mark in Falkirk the greatest modern event in Britain's political life. A silver spade was then presented to Mrs. Simson by Mrs. A. B. Robb (Hon. Sec.), in the name of the Society. Miss Eunice Murray, prospective Parliamentary candidate for Bridgeton, addressed the gathering on Woman's New Power, and after the usual votes of thanks had been accorded, the function was terminated by the singing of the National Anthem.

ACKWORTH.—A meeting of the Ackworth Society was held on Thursday, October 17th, when Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher gave an address on "Women and Citizenship."

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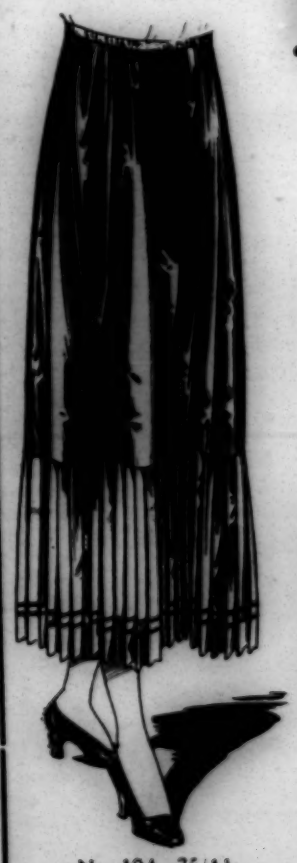

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Headquarter Notes.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Hon. Secretaries: MISS MARGARET JONES. MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY (Parliamentary).
Hon. Treasurer: MISS ROSAMOND SMITH.
Secretaries: MISS AGNEW, MRS. HUBBACK (Information and Parliamentary).
Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.
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Inexplicable rumours are afloat that the N.U.W.S.S. has a large balance, and that the urgent demand for funds is quite unnecessary. The Executive Committee wish to contradict this idea. There is, of course, far too much life in the movement for equality between men and women for there to be any danger that sufficient funds will not be forthcoming, but everyone nowadays has ten times as many claims as they had in pre-war days, and it is hardly to be expected that large sums of money should be quite so easily collected. That money will be forthcoming we have no doubt at all, but that the need is urgent and immediate we cannot disguise, and rumours to the contrary should be discounted.

Literature Department.

Do Societies and individual members of the N.U.W.S.S. realise what a chance they are missing of securing pre-war stationery at pre-war prices? The Literature Department has in stock a considerable number of writing blocks with corners in the N.U.W.S.S. colours, which it is prepared to sell at the old prices of 1s. 6d. and 2s., according to size. There are also envelopes to match, price 1s. per 100 small, 1s. 6d. larger, 2s. extra large. The paper is of extra good quality, and cannot be repeated.

Societies are further reminded that N.U.W.S.S. badges are still to be procured at the central office.

The Literature Department has on sale several copies of Mrs. Henry Fawcett's "Joan of Arc," price 4d. Orders should be sent as soon as possible.

Information Bureau and Library.

The services of the Information Bureau and Library are increasingly in demand. Last month the Information Bureau dealt with a record number of enquiries. The number of books in the Library is being gradually added to as borrowers' orders show what books are most generally useful. The Library may now be said to be well supplied with literature on all leading social problems. All readers of THE COMMON CAUSE should find it of the greatest use.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Already acknowledged since—£3,422 10s. 5d.

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Alva W.S.S.		5	0
Warwick & Leamington W.S.S.		10	9
Redcar W.S.S.		10	0
Holt W.S.S.		6	0
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Miss H. C. Deneke	30	0	0
Miss E. M. Hildyard		2	0
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Mrs. Clark	1	0	0
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Mrs. J. D. Hobson		5	0
Mrs. Josiah Lockwood	1	1	0
Miss K. Fleming		2	6
Miss A. Gee		10	0
Glasgow W.S.S.	5	0	0
Miss Siddon	2	0	0
	£163	17	11

N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals.

Subscriptions are still Urgently Needed, and should be sent to Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treasurer, S.W.H., Red House, Greenock; or to Headquarters: 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh. The great advance taking place at present on the Western and Eastern Fronts, has caused the resources of the Scottish Women's Hospitals to be taxed to their utmost extent. The Committee urge therefore for continued, and even *greater support* from the public to meet the many demands that are daily coming from the various units. Cheques should be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland." Subscriptions for the London Units should be sent to the Right Hon. Viscountess Cowdray, or to Miss Gosse, Joint Hon. Treasurers, S.W.H., 66, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

* Denotes further donations

	£	s.	d.
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Further donations received to October 17th, 1918:—			
*Mrs. Winterne (Serbians) ...	1	1	0
*Miss Marjory Lees, President, Oldham W.S.S., per Miss Alice Mitton, Hon. Treas. for "Oldham" Bed (Royaumont)	25	0	0
Miss Graham	1	0	0
*Per Miss E. Rachel Jamieson, Organiser, S.W.H.: *Workmen's Scheme:* Firm and Employees, Burnbank Foundry, Falkirk, per W. Wright, Esq. (£6 6s.), Employees, "Grangemouth Dockyard War Charities Fund," per J. Deans, Esq. (£5) *Employees, Messrs. MacTaggart Scott & Co., Station Ironworks, per J. Laurie, Esq. (£3 15s. 4d.), Employees, Messrs. Marwick, Fountainbridge, Edinburgh, per Miss C. A. Gunn (£3), Employees, Messrs. John Innes & Campbell, Torword Foundry, Larbert (£2 12s.), *No. 4 Hoist Squad Coal Trimmers, Leith, per J. Munro Esq. (£1 14s. 1d.), Employees, Caledonian Railway Co. Goods Station, Falkirk, per M. B. Dick, Esq. (£1 10s. 1d.), Employees, Portobelle Paper Mills, Midlothian, per H. R. Dalrymple, Esq. (£1 0s. 7d.), Pupils, Falkirk High School, per Alec. C. Mackay, Esq., Head			
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*Miss Stephens, Proceeds of Flag Day in Hereford ...	25	10	0
*Mrs. Tiffany (Monthly donation)	5	4	7
*"Comrie Parish War Emergency Committee," per J. T. Mitchell, Esq., Hon. Sec. ...	20	0	0
*The Western Chemical Co., Inchgreen Works, Bogston, Greenock, per C. M. Biggart, Esq.	5	5	0
*Per Mrs. Robertson: Employees, Messrs. Boyd & Forrest (96th contribution) ...	2	8	9
"An Assam Valley Planter," per H. Fisher, Esq., Deputy Sec., Bank of Bengal, Calcutta	451	11	3
*Gateshead W.S.S., per Mrs. J. T. Dunn, Hon. Sec. ...	3	12	6
Mrs. I. Duncan Millar	12	0	0
*Miss Russell, for upkeep of "Alburni" Bed (Royaumont)	25	0	0
Mrs. Borthwick (France) ...	1	1	0
*The Misses Mason, per Mrs. Murray	3	0	0
United Free Church Mission, Rajagopal, Chetty Girls' School, and Balika Patalsala, per Mrs. Lorimer, Madras (Corsica) (90 Rs.)	6	15	3
*Per Miss Etta Shankland, Organiser, S.W.H.: Scottish Edith Cavell Committee, "Scottish Edith Cavell Memorial" Bed No. IX. (Royaumont) (£50), "Scottish Edith Cavell Memorial" Bed No. X. (Sallanches—Greenock Section) (£50), "Scottish Edith Cavell Memorial" Bed No. XI. (Girton and Newnham Unit, Salonica) (£50)	150	0	0
*Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Weir, per Mrs. Wood, Hon. Treas., Kilmacolm W.S.S., for upkeep of "Kilallan" Bed (Royaumont)	50	0	0
*Per Miss Jacobsen, Organiser S.W.H.: Mrs. Paterson (£3), Misses Paterson (£3), Mrs. Ruthven (2s. 6d.), Emp. Mid. Mill, Galashiels, per Wm. Spiers, Esq. (£1 10s. 6d.)	7	13	0
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"Scottish Edith Cavell Memorial" No. X. (Sallanches, 1 year [Greenock Section])	Per Miss Etta Shankland.
"Scottish Edith Cavell Memorial" No. XI. (Girton and Newnham Unit, Salonica, 1 year)	Per Miss Etta Shankland.
"Kilallan" (Royaumont, further 1 year)	Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Weir, Kilmacolm.

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S HOSPITALS, LONDON UNITS.

Dr. Annette M. Benson, late C.M.O. of the Elsie Inglis Unit, brought with her on her return to England a few weeks ago a collection of sketches made on the Macedonian front. So far the only picture of the Elsie Inglis Hospital camp to appear in the press has been a bird's eye view, taken from an aeroplane. Dr. Benson's pictures will therefore be of peculiar interest to those who have friends in the Unit, now pressing forward into Serbia, on the heels of the victorious troops.

Miss Hoc, Equipment Secretary to the London Units, wishes to make known the following pressing needs:—Sheets, pyjamas, and day shirts (flannel or cotton), pillow cases (an urgent necessity). Gifts in kind should be sent to Miss Hoc; money contributions to the Viscountess Cowdray or Miss T. Gosse, 66, Victoria St., S.W. 1.

Items of Interest.

In connection with the College of Nursing, the Committee of the Nation's Fund for Nurses have established three scholarships for the training of Sistor Tutors at King's College for women, University of London, of the value of one hundred guineas. Competitors entered from all parts of the kingdom. The successful candidates are: Miss M. E. Abram, Assistant Matron, Royal Infirmary, Huddersfield; Miss D. E. Bannon, Sister, Surgical Ward, St. Thomas's Hospital, London; Miss D. M. Edgell, Night Charge Sister, Maternity Ward, St. Thomas's Hospital, London. The value of these studentships to the profession cannot be over-estimated, coming just at this time, when the Training Schools are feeling the strain of the war, especially in the depletion of their teaching staffs.

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Forthcoming Meetings (N.U.W.S.S).

NOVEMBER 1.

Poplar—Presbyterian Settlement, 56, East India Dock Road—Subject: "The Machinery of Government" 3.10 p.m.

NOVEMBER 2.

Tottenham—Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives Club, 740, High Street—Speaker: Miss Relf—Subject: "Woman's New Responsibility" 8 p.m.

NOVEMBER 4.

North Walsham—Speaker: Miss E. L. Willis—Subject: "Women's New Responsibilities."

S. Islington—St. Bartholomews Women's Fellowship—School Room, Shepperton Road, New North Road—Subject: "The Duties of Citizenship" 3 p.m.

NOVEMBER 5.

Bristol — 46, Downs Park, N. — Chair: Mrs. Burrow Hill—Chief Speaker: Mrs. Pets—Subject: "Women Police and Patrols" 3 p.m.

NOVEMBER 6.

Queen's Hall—A Public Meeting of Protest against Regulation 40 D D.O.R.A.—Chairman: Mrs. Fawcett—Speakers: Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Monsignor Provost Brown, Miss A. Maude Royden, Mr. E. B. Turner, F.R.C.S., The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Kensington. Numbered and reserved seats 2s. 6d. and 1s. Free tickets to be obtained on application to the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 19, Tothill Street, S.W. 1.

S. Islington — St. Philip's Institute, Tinton Street, New North Road—Women's Guild—Subject: "Women's New Opportunities and Responsibilities" 3 p.m.

NOVEMBER 7.

S. London—Denmark Hill Discussion Circle—The People's Church, Windsor Road—Speaker: Miss Agnes Dawson—Subject: "The Status of the L.C.C. School Teachers" 7 p.m.

NOVEMBER 8.

Poplar—Presbyterian Settlement, 56, East India Dock Road—Speaker: Miss Rosamond Smith—Subject: "A Ministry of Health Bill" 3 p.m.

Coming Events.

NOVEMBER 1.

University College—Lecture on "The Advanced Montessori Method—Vol. I.," by Rev. Cecil Grant, Headmaster of St. George's School, Harpenden—Chairman: Miss Maude Royden—Non-members, 6d. entrance 5.45 p.m.

NOVEMBER 5.

Queen's Hall—Federation of Women Civil Servants—Subject: "Equal Opportunity and Equal Pay for Both Sexes."

St. Pancras—28, High Street, Camden Town—Liberal Labour Women's Association—Speaker: Mrs. Stanbury—Subject: "Housing" 3.15 p.m.

NOVEMBER 6.

Lewisham — Evergreen Club, Hither Green Mission, Nightingale Lane — Speaker: Mrs. Bond — Subject: "More Aspects of Citizenship" 2.30 p.m.

Camberwell—The People's Church, Denmark Hill—Citizen's Discussion Circle—Speaker: Miss Agnes Dawson—Subject: "The Status of Women Teachers" 7 p.m.

NOVEMBER 9.

Downe—Downe House School—Miss Curwen speaks to the girls who are at present responsible for one "bed."

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN will resume her course of Sermons on "The Problem of Suffering" at the 6 p.m. service at the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, next Sunday. "Is it Good for us to Suffer?"

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

FEDERATION OF WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS.—Public Meeting, Large Queen's Hall, Langham-place, W., Tuesday, November 5th, at 7 p.m. Chair: Miss Helena Normanton, B.A. Speakers: Miss Lena Ashwell, Dr. Sophie Bryant, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Mr. J. C. Monahan (Civil Service Alliance), Miss Millicent Murby (National Health Insurance Commission), Miss E. S. Roper, B.A. Resolution: "That this meeting calls upon the Government to open all Civil Service appointments to women; to remove the sex differentiation in recruitment; and to institute equal pay for equal work throughout all Government Departments." Admission free. A few reserved seats at 1s.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton-street, Piccadilly, W. 1.—Subscription: London Members £1 11s. 6d., Country Members £1 5s. per annum from date of entrance (Irish, Scottish, and Foreign Members 10s. 6d.). Weekly Lectures; House Dinners; Valuable Feminist Lending and Reference Library available to Members; Excellent Catering; Luncheons and Dinners à la Carte.—All particulars, Secretary. Tel.: Mayfair 3832.

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